RECEIVED
JAN 198
FROM CITY OF
KOREAN 6 UNIVERSITY

The People's Korea

No. 1,024 EVERY SATURDAY DECEMBER 27, 1980 Per Copy Price: ¥250

Bonn Threatens Aid Cut; EC Will Not Tolerate Mr. Kim's Execution

West German Economic Cooperation Minister Rainer Offergeld declared that his country would see no longer any reason to give economic aid to south Korea if most prominent democratic leader Kim Dae Jung were executed.

His threat came in response to Chancellor Schmidt's demand for the freedom of the dissident leader amid increasing interest in that country in the fate of Mr. Kim who is awaiting a supreme court decision on his death sentence handed down by court-martials.

He was quoted by the Vorwarts, the weekly publication of the ruling Social Democratic Party.

In the interview published on Dec. 24 Mr. Offergeld said that his country gives economic aid for the welfare of all the people and not for a handful of elites in the Third World.

The Bonn government served notice on every occasion that it does not understand the reason for executing Mr. Kim.

Chancellor Helmu Schmidt said in his policy speech to the Bundestag last month that his government demanded the release of Mr. Kim.

Dutch Foreign Minister Christoph Van Der Klaauw said, "My country is concerned about Mr. Kim's fate. Our ambassador to Seoul has already conveyed to the Korean authorities the common apprehension shared by the European Community about his fate."

He, in the Dec. 13 talks with his Japanese counterpart Ito Masayoshi, declared, "If Mr. Kim Dae Jung were hanged, the European Community would strongly protest Korea."

On Dec. 17, an Italian parliamentalian delegation visited the south Korean embassy to protest against the death sentence imposed on the dissident leader.

The delegation was composed of representatives from the Italian Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and the Labour Union of Italy and the Federation of Protecting Human Rights. But embassy officials refused to meet them. The delegation, angered by the refusal, presented their government a written demand for concrete steps to save Mr. Kim.

An Australian trade union organization appealed to the world trade unions to boycott trade with south Korea in protest against the death sentence against Mr. Kim.

The Secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions said in Melbourne on Dec. 10.

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung, former presidential candidate of south Korea was sentenced to death on charges of anti-government activities at the military court. To protest this, it will be effective that trade unions of the world unite and boycott trade with south Korea."

The council requested the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Confederation of the Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to examine the possibility of boycotting trade with south Korea.

Humberto Varli, General Secretary of the Communist Party of San Marino, on December 5 delivered a report to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of San Marino and urged a powerful drive for the freedom of the south Korean democratic leader.

He said, "We should wage a powerful solidarity movement for the struggle against fascism and torture and for the release of political prisoners, particularly, for the struggle to have south Korean democratic figure Kim Dae Jung released."

The Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth sent a letter calling for the freedom of Mr. Kim to the U.N. Secretary-General, and a letter of protest to the south Korean "government" in demand of the release of Mr. Kim.

The WFDY also sent a circular to its member organizations and all friendly organizations of the world calling for an international action to save Mr. Kim.

"It is high time a powerful international movement was waged, an effective step taken immediately and action started to save the life of Kim Dae Jung," declared the letter. It appealed to all the member organizations of the world to take various steps to save him.

Koreans' Rally Held

Chongryun Vice-Chairman Pak Jae Ro, recalling that the outrages of the Chon Du Hwan military group are arousing an indignation of the entire Korean people and the world public, stated that the Chon junta must immediately release all the imprisoned democratic figures including Mr. Kim.

He was a keynote reporter of a central meeting of Koreans in Japan held on Dec. 17 at the Korean House of Culture in Tokyo denouncing the scheme of the south Korean military rulers to execute democratic leader Kim Dae Jung.

The Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) Vice-Chairman strongly urged the U.S. and Japanese governments to stop supporting the Chon junta.

Guest speakers included Masahiro Yamamoto, member of the House of Representatives and Director of the organ of the Japan Socialist Party; Hoshino Tsutomu, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party; Kato Yutaka, Vice-Chairman of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan; and Kajitani Yoshihisa, representative member of the Japan Committee for Supporting the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea.

The Japanese speakers attacked the Chon Du Hwan military group's scheme to do away with a large number of democratic figures including Mr. Kim and expressed their determination to carry on their efforts to save the dissident leader. (Continued on page 8)

Reagan's World Strategy and Korean Policy

World attention is now on the foreign and domestic policies of Ronald Reagan. While in the presidential race, he offered a wide range of promises to deal with inflation, unemployment and declining American prestige: for instance, small government, tax reduction, increased defense spending and peace through strength.

Plainly, however, each commitment has little chance of success. Tax reduction and increased defense spending are like having your cake and eating impossible.

Trigger-Happy Believer of Strength

It is important to consider the mentality of Reagan himself and the state of his country. It is true that Reagan is in no position to make all decisions by himself. All the more so in view of the plummeting of American power and clout.

Full consideration should be given to Reagan's extreme conservatism and hawkish nature. There is no doubt left that the world view and thinking of Reagan will influence American policy conduct.

A certain American correspondent in Tokyo expressed dismay at the victory of Reagan and voiced misgivings about the fate of his country. He implied that the new president was no proud to his country.

Available information indicates that Reagan, not familiar with politics, the economic affairs and foreign policy conduct, is trigger-happy. He is a believer of power politics. For him, might makes right. He is determined to restore American clout. Reagan said, "Peace is made by the fact of strength, economic, military and strategic." The political strength is the underlying basis of his world strategy.

(Continued on page 4)

New Shift in Student Drive

Latest reports, still fragmentary, arriving here from Seoul, strongly suggest that the Chon Du Hwan military junta is far from keeping the students under control, despite a series of American pronouncements of support for it. Evidence shows the south Korean students are becoming visibly anti-American and anti-Japanese, ill-boding for the American presence in that part of Korea.

An action platform was clearly stated in numerous handbills distributed by over 400 students of Seoul National University on December 11 last when they staged an on-campus anti-Chon demonstration, with over 1,000 students cheering. The title of the handbill was "The Declaration of the Campaign of Students against Fascism." The texts of the declaration were reported by south Korean dailies, The Chosun Ilbo and The Hanguk Ilbo, on December 14.

A strong suspicion exists about the motive of the release of the texts by the Chon junta to its controlled media, namely, to portray the students as "pinko," justify their arrests and alienate them from the population. Yet, a fairly clear picture emerged of what the students stood for. So, the mass media are launching a campaign to discredit the students, a pioneer of the democratic movement.

The fragmentary reports, brought together, pieces an action platform whose main points are as follows:

- the student movement is an opposition to fascism;
- its ultimate goal is establishing a unified national state;
- the liquidation of the "neo-colonial system" of American and Japanese forces as foreign and their client bureaucrats and capitalists;
- the working people, workers and peasant farmers, form a broader-based coalition with
- progressive intellectuals;
- the students must play the role of a driving force.

These aspects of the student declaration were made public at a time when U.S. defense leader Brown turned up in Seoul to give a much-needed boost to the Chon Du Hwan junta, a target of worldwide criticisms and demonstrations against association with the south Korean military rulers. The point of the students is that they will not live with the U.S. support dictators and will not relent its drive for the ouster of foreign factors till the formation of a reunified Korean state. The chances for anti-American outbursts will further increase as the incoming Reagan Administration is expected to show no interest in the restoration of democratic institutions in south Korea and strengthen ties with the Chon junta in view of south Korea's importance to American Asian strategy.

Under the present south Korean ruling system, university students are mainly from well-established families and their views echo what their parents think. When students are detained, their families suffer, strengthening their sense of common interests. Seoul National University is the most prestigious school of future elites for south Korea.

Significantly, similar declarations were issued in many other universities and colleges throughout south Korea. The Chosun Ilbo noted the gravity with which the Chon junta watched the diffusion of handbills among various campuses. Such fear was expressed by the same paper on December 14 and The Dong-A Ilbo on December 17.

The declaration of Seoul National University stated in part:

"The clear enemy of the student masses are foreign-supported local forces composed of 'comprador' capital and bureaucracy. The United States which supports the fascist junta cannot become an eternal ally of our country. Japan, an agent of the United States, cannot but become a target of our struggle.

"To this end, the workers, peasant farmers and other working people must be organized together with the progressive and 'vanguard' intellectuals. The student movement must be pivotal to this organization."

—At 404th MAC Meeting—

Continuing SR-71 Introsions Protested

The Pyongyang side Dec. 16 charged the Americans and south Koreans with firing at the northern post in the Demilitarized Zone (Dec. 9) and sending SR-71 into the sky above the territorial waters of the DPRK (Dec. 11 and 12) at the 404th meeting of the Military Armistice Commission (MAC).

At the meeting of the truce village in Panmunjom, Maj. Gen. Han Ju Gyong, the senior member of the Pyongyang side, said, "The south Koreans Dec. 9 committed a grave armed provocation by firing hundreds of rounds of machine gun fire on several occasions towards our side's post from the southern side area in the Demilitarized Zone," and added, "The cases of armed provocation committed by your side from November 16 to December 10 totalled more than 50."

On the other hand, the United States sent SR-71 high-speed, high-altitude spy plane into the sky above the territorial waters of the DPRK east of Kosong from 13 hours 19 minutes to 28 minutes December 12, in the wake of its infiltration of the spy plane into the sky above the territorial waters of the DPRK on Dec. 11.

"Espionage acts committed by the Americans' high-speed, high-altitude reconnaissance plane SR-71 numbered 10 cases in all since the last meeting," remarked the senior member of the Pyongyang side.

According to his statement, various criminal acts committed by the Americans and south Koreans during the period from November 16 to December 10 totalled more than 1,500 cases.

Maj. Gen. Han also disclosed that after working out a long-term plan for the reinforcement of the U.S. armed forces occupying south Korea, Washington has not only brought into south Korea mass-destruction weapons and combat equipment including scores of up-to-date combat fighter planes but also increased and modernised this year the U.S. naval, air and ground forces stationed in south Korea and deployed nearly all the ground forces along the Military Demarcation Line and its neighbouring areas.

He also said, "The number of the violations committed by your side this year amounted to 23,000 odd cases in all as of December 10."

At the meeting the senior member of the Pyongyang side exposed that the United States has been persistently clinging to the "two-Korea" policy, arguing that "it is infeasible" to reunify Korea and that "the realistic proposal is to legalise the present situation."

He urged the U.S. delegate to discontinue forthwith all military provocations including espionage and hostile acts, stop introducing armed forces into south Korea in flagrant violation of the armistice agreement and military exercises and accept a proposal for holding talks to replace the armistice agreement with a peace agreement.

–KCNA

Rosy Picture of DPRK's Economy In 1980

This year was a memorable year in which the Korean people celebrated the 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

At the Congress, President Kim Il Sung disclosed that the assignment of the Second Seven-Year Plan (1978–1984) for three years had already been achieved by the end of September this year, saying that between 1970 and 1979 the DPRK's industrial production grew by 15.9% every year, boosting the total industrial output value 3.8 times, with the production of means of production increasing 3.9 times and consumer goods 3.7 times.

In response to the call of President Kim Il Sung in his annual New Year address which regards it as the central tasks of socialist economic construction to bring about a radical progress by normalizing production and carrying out the technical revolution briskly in all its spheres, the working people in the northern part of the DPRK have not only ensured a high industrial growth rate but also reaped an unheard-of bumber harvest this year.

In the course of implementing the tasks of the technical revolution, production grew quickly in all branches of the national economy and the foundation of the independent national economy were further consolidated.

The industrial branches were reinforced and many new industries built on the principle of further improving the industrial structure and building a Juche-based industry fed with the domestic raw materials and fuel.

The DPRK gained admirable success in enhancing the independence of the metallurgical industry. It constructed modern iron-producing centres that use its own raw materials and fuel and successfully solved new technological problems arising in the production of coke. Further, huge hot- and cold-rolling plants and other many plants were newly built to turn out products of the second-stage metal processing.

The structure of the chemical industry has been further built up. Many new chemical industries have been created and existing chemical industry centres reequipped and reinforced, so that the chemical industry has risen to such a level that it is able to fully meet the increasing demands of the national economy for diverse chemical products.

The production capacities of industries increased noticeably this year.

The industrial production increased 42% in the third quarters of this year as against the same period last year.

With the vigorous advance of the technical revolution, a 1,500 cubic metre large-size blast furnace and the rolling mill of the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works, the Youth Chemical Complex, the Sunchon Cement Factory with a production capacity of three million tons and many other highly automated and modernized industrial objects were constructed.

The capacity of power production is on the increase in the DPRK with the building of a good many thermal and hydroelectric power stations large in scale.

The power industry of the DPRK based on home fuel and hydraulic resources has got rid of seasonal restriction in production to satisfactorily meet the demand of the national economy for power under any unfavorable weather conditions.

The recently held Sixth WPK Congress set a goal to produce annually 100,000 million kwh of electricity in the near future.

Many big and small hydroelectric power stations are being built on rivers in all parts of the country. Sluices will be built together with power stations on the Taedonggang, Chongchon and other big rivers.

The materiill and technical foundations of transport were constantly consolidated and the transport capacity was increased rapidly.

In the DPRK electric traction has accounted for 87.5% of railway haulage. A unified system of haulage by electric engines has been established in major railway sections including branch lines and sidings.

The introduction of wireless and television systems in the commanding system and the automation of operations at the station yards and marshalling yards are being rapidly realized and the replacement of rails with heavy ones and the concreting of the railway roadbed are also progressing apace.

Sea and land transport also rapidly developed. A motor transport network was organized in each province and county and specialized motor transport units carrying important goods were organized in industrial and agricultural areas to play a big role in transport.

Many 20,000 ton and 14,000 ton cargo ships have been built and various ports including Nampo, Chongjin and Haeju ports have been modernized to rapidly increase transport by ships.

The combined railway-motor-water communication developing and container transport is widely introduced.

The gorgeous Changgwangwon Health Centre, a grand monumental creation, newly built on the Potong River

The fuel and raw material crises, hitting the world, have caused production slumps, price jumps and unemployment floods, but the DPRK is completely free from such phenomena. However violent the economic upheavals of the world may be, the economy of the DPRK continues to develop at a high rate and living standards of the people are rising steadily.

People Living with Nothing to Worry About

The working people in the DPRK are leading a happy life, having no worries about their living.

Today the Korean working people know no worry about food, clothing, housing or taxes and enjoy the benefits of free education, free medical treatment and paid leave.

From the moment of birth every one is entitled to a supply of rice from the state.

The state buys rice from the farmers at 60 chon, about 40 cent, per kilogramme and supplies it to the factory and office workers at eight chon. To work for two or three days is enough for workers to earn money needed to buy rice to support themselves and their families for a month, and in certain sections, one day's earnings are enough.

As four seasons are distinct in the DPRK, people demand different kinds and colours of cloth according to seasons.

The rent of dwelling houses with central heating and modern furniture is no more than 0.3 per cent of the living allowances. Farmers do not pay rent for their modern houses built by the state free of charge.

The living standards of farmers have long surpassed by far those of the well-to-do middle peasants of the past.

In 1979 the national income per capita in the DPRK reached 1,920 dollars.

In the DPRK, a free education system and a free medical service system are in force in an all round way.

All children and young people are given compulsory free education from the full age of five till they reach the working age and children below the age of five are also brought up at state and social expense.

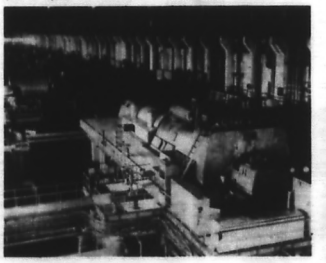
All students are supplied with school uniforms at a cheap price at the turn of seasons and the students of higher specialized schools, colleges and universities are given even stipends by the state.

A universal free medical service system was introduced in 1953 when the hard-fought fatherland liberation war was still at its height.

The state provides all people with all forms of medical service, such as medical treatment for out-patients and in-patients and at sanatoria.

The average life span of the people has reached 73 years, 35 years longer than before liberation.

The happy life of the Korean people which is guaranteed by a powerful independent national economy making a rapid development on the basis of its rich raw materials and resources, not affected by any economic depression sweeping the world will be bettered in the Second Seven-Year Plan period.



The DPRK has built many large hydro and thermal power stations relying upon abundant hydropower resources and coal to steadily increase the production of electric power. Shown here is the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant.

A view of the modernly equipped Sungri Chemical Plant

Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo

ITS ACCEPTABILITY AND WORKABILITY

(1) mirrors the overwhelming traditional Korean values shared by the Koreans north and south and abroad;
- --reunification is number one political priority to every Korean;
- --any popular south Korean democrat or nationalist is a stout champion of reunification;
- --the traditional Korean values are overwhelming in north and south, irrespective of the different institutions;
- --over ten million Koreans are separated in two parts from their family members and want to have their reunion;

(2) recognizes and tolerates the co-existence of the two differing socio-political and economic systems in north and south;
- --a tremendous difference has been created between the two in idea, system and their external relations;
- --any attempt at forming a single system through merger or absorption is catastrophic and a mission impossible;
- --despite their gap, no fundamental reason for their confrontation exists between the northern and the southern systems;

(3) protects the interests and vested rights of multinational corporations and foreign powers in south Korea;
- --shows no hostility to any particular country and strives to promote friendship with all countries;
- --maintains strict neutrality, independence and non-alignment;
- --has no plan to nationalize or remove foreign interests and in particular foreign economic concessions in south Korea and protects them;
- --allows the north and the south as regional autonomous governments to maintain some of their external relations, for example, commercial relationships.

PRINCIPLES OF FORMATION

(1) the creation of the Supreme Confederal Assembly as a national parliament with an equal number of representatives from the north and the south and an appropriate number of representatives from overseas Korean communities;

(2) the creation of the Confederal Standing Committee by the aforesaid Assembly as a unified national government to guide the two autonomous governments and administer all the affairs of the confederal state

OPERATING PRINCIPLES

(1) commitment to national unity, cooperation and reunification;

(2) respect to the social systems and the wishes of administrative organizations, every party, every group, and every section of the population and prevention of any attempt at one's will on the other.

PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG DECLARES:

"The question of Korea's reunification resolves itself into the question of ending foreign domination and interference, winning the complete sovereignty of the Korean nation, removing distrust and antagonism between north and south, and achieving national unity.

"Our Party holds that the country should be reunified by founding a Confederal Republic through the establishment of a unified national government on condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and systems, a government in which the two sides are representated on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal riths and duties."

DEFINITION OF THE CONFEDERATION

-- One-nation, one-state, two-system reunification
-- One-central national government, two-regional government confederation

FOREIGN POLICY CONDUCT

--Single diplomatic representation
--Permanent neutrality, independence and non-alignment, most likely of Swiss or Austrian or Swedish type
--No association with any given political-military alliance or bloc

Reason is the presence in the confederal state of differing ideas and systems with respective pre-reunification relations with foreign countries.

DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT KOREA

Reason is that democracy is a common guide acceptable to people with differing thoughts and political views, enabling people of all walks of life to become real masters of the state and society.

--total guarantee of liberties and rights of all the people
--total guarantee of freedom of forming political parties and public organizations and freedom of religious belief, be it Buddhist or Christian or whatever else, freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration, travel, movement

Bi-System Confederation Most Workable Reunion Approach

An entirely new reunification approach emerged from the 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea held in last October. President Kim Il Sung proposed to reunify the divided country by forming a north-south confederal state with the respective ideologies and systems kept intact.

Here is a quotation from the Party Congress report delivered by the DPRK leader:

"Our Party holds that the country should be reunified by founding a Confederal Republic through the establishment of a unified national government on condition that the north and south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and social systems, a government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal rights and duties."

The Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo was suggested by the chief executive as a possible name of the proposed reunified state. The concept of its political and military neutrality was set forth in detail on a basis of non-alignemnt. The confederal state would implement a 10-point platform.

Mirror Objective Circumstances

The latest overtures mirror the objective circumstances of the Korean Peninsula, compress the urgent longings of the north and south Korean people and reflect the development in the world with full attention to the stakes of the neighboring countries. There is no room for any slightest reservation on the part of the parties concerned.

In essence, the Korean reunification question is an issue of critical importance to the peace and security of Asia and the rest of the world, far from a local matter which concerns only the Korean people. The division of Korea, now 35 years old, has brought immeasurable sufferings and misfortunes on to its fifty million population. It is one of the most dangerous areas of the world which may ignite another world war.

With Korea kept divided, it is self-evidently difficult to improve the well-being of its inhabitants and bring a lasting peace to Asia. Characteristic of the present arena is the sharpening of confrontations among great powers over their spheres of influence. As a result, the tensions are building up on the Korean Peninsula.

Plain enough, it is the Korean people who stand to lose most and suffer most if their country become a scene of great-power rivalry in lieu of reunification. In that event, the peace and security of the world would be gravely affected. The negotiated reunification of Korea, therefore, will be a worldwide boon.

A greatest boon which President Kim Il Sung can give to his people and the world community of nations is to have the divided and heavily militarized peninsula peacefully reunified. This service to world peace is to be made only when his proposal has been fulfilled — integrating north and south Korea into a confederal state with their different institutions allowed to function as they are now and building a nuclear-free, peace zone throughout Korea. In this sense, the latest overtures are widely believed to be a most positive and forward-looking policy statement.

Bi-System Reunification

The plan of the KPRK chief executive is an original attempt at a bi-system confederation: the co-existence of socialism and capitalism at work within the boundaries of a reunified state. What motivates him at the government is that the survival of the Korean nation is at stake. There is a keen realization that the price for the negotiated reunification is far less expensive than that the Korean people must pay in the perpetuation of the division of the country. The Korean reunification question is by nature no matter of ideology or system but is a matter of Koreanism-first policy, a matter of national survival. The overriding Korean values shared by the Korean people north and south make it possible to achieve negotiated reunification.

From the viewpoint of Koreanism-first policy, what stands in the way of the reunification of the country is the U.S. presence in south Korea with a "two-Korea" policy. The U.S. presence in south Korea dates back to the 1945 liberation 35 years ago, strongly felt in all areas of its life.

As a matter of common knowledge, the Americans were puppets of the successive rulers in Seoul and are unmistakably supportive of the present military leaders in command. For the new clamors are pursuing the same old Korean policy of the United States and the same old undemocratic policy of the late dictator. There is no underestimating the role of the Americans in the outrageous conduct of the Chon Du Hwan junta, now an object of worldwide protests and criticisms for massacres of the Kwangju Massacre and a series of crackdowns of democratic leaders. The Americans are behind the installation of Gen. Chon in power.

Once Sign of Democracy

The sign of democracy was once on the horizon in the wake of the assassination of the dictator Pak Jung Hi in October last year. His immediate successor Choi Gyu Ha, well aware of the long-smouldering grievances of the population against the 18 years of dictatorship, had to commit himself to restore democratic order.

His promises included a "Constitutional amendment" and transfer of power to a democratically-elected government. During his term of office, notorious "emergency measure No. 9" was lifted with the release and rehabilitation of a number of democrats. A parliamentary panel was set up to deal with the amendment to the "Yusin Constitution." Public debate on the matter became active. The rehabilitated democrats were allowed to engage in political activities.

Cold war was poured on the growing climate of democracy, however. Gen. Chon, a faithful disciple of Pak Jung Hi and new client of Washington, seized control of the armed forces through a Dec. 12 coup with the active support of the American generals. On May 17 last he expanded martial law to cover the whole of south Korea, citing new outbursts of student demonstrations for democracy. Mass arrests immediately followed. Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other democratic leaders were detained. Even cronise of Pak Jung Hi, Kim Jong Pil included, were arrested and purged of all their public posts.

All potential "presidential" candidates were eliminated. A main target was Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the strongest favorite. Then, in September last, Chon ran unopposed in the "presidential" election by the rubber-stamp electoral college and rose to the highest post of chief executive. Such military junta is clearly far from undemocratic and enjoys little popular confidence. Proof was demonstrated in the Kwangju Massacre and the arrests of democrats.

American Euphemism for Support

American expressions of "regret" and "concern" are only for domestic consumption. "Regret" and "concern" are euphemisms for total support for the military junta. The Japanese Government blessed the start of the Chon junta and promised continuing economic assistance. They have refused to lodge protests with Seoul against the trial of Mr. Kim Dae Jung on the plea of the so-called political settlements.

The Carter Administration, to be replaced with a more rightist Reagan Administration in January next year, has backed away from its much-tauted human rights diplomacy and adopted the familiar but bankrupt policy of strength. Openly attaching greater importance to the relations with the allies than the human rights situation, the Americans stressed the need to show the policy of strength everywhere. They professed particular concern with the security of their client junta in Seoul in accordance with their world strategy.

Unreasonable objection was raised by the Americans to the workable reunification plan of the DPRK government. Their aim was clear: to perpetuate the division of Korea. Their answer was "cross recognition" and "a three-way conference." When their tactic did not work, they again stressed the policy of strength.

It became obvious that under these conditions it was extremely hard to achieve an independent and peaceful Korean reunification. In the words of President Kim Il Sung, "For the independent, peaceful reunification of our country it is necessary to check the machination of the United States for "two Koreas" and do away with its interference in the internal affairs of Korea."

This point has been illustrated historically by the experience of the Korean people in their struggle for reunification. The reunification of Korea intrinsically concerns the matter of national self-determination and requires reassertion of national swereignty throughout Korea and termination of foreign presence. For this reason, an end must be put on the "two-Korea" policy, interference and foreign support to the military junta. Democratic order must come back to south Korean society.

The American military presence in south Korea must be ended with the present armistice agreement replaced by a peace agreement between Pyongyang and Washington and the tensions must be reduced on the Korean Peninsula. Otherwise, catastrophic consequences will follow for the American policy in Korea and Asia.

(Continued from page 1)

Decline of American Credibility

The objectives of American foreign policy since World War II have been the containment of mainland China, the encirclement of the Soviet Union, the subjugation of capitalist allies and the suffocation of the national liberation struggles in the Third World. The successive American governments have played the role of world police and gendarmerie and flaunted power everywhere.

The decline of the American Empire has not stopped, however. Ensued worldwide loss of American credibility. Cracks appeared throughout the American policy conduct.

The Carter Administration threw curves to remedy the situation– pursuit of human rights diplomacy. He failed as expected. The Iranian Revolution triumphed. The domestic and economic difficulties of the United States worsened. The Carter doctrine was advanced to exploit the Afghanistan incident.

A clear shift took place to the old policy of strength: the shelving of the SALT II treaty ratification, grain embargo, the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, a large raise in defense expenditures, the creation of rapid-deployment forces, and an attempt at a new framework of collective security in Southwest Asia and Middle East.

These steps could not dispel fear and frustration within the American public. A devastating defeat awaited Carter in the presidential election. Yet, there is no difference between Carter and Reagan in their commitment to the policy of strength. If any, it is where stress is placed and how much energy is diverted.

Main Concern: Reasserting American Dominance

Judging from his stated promises and policy remarks, Reagan seems to be preoccupied with Russo-American confrontation and articulates his belief in strength as means of reestablishing American dominance in the world. Herein lies a fundamental reservation about his Administration.

A strong likelihood is that the Reagan Administration, ignorant of the hard facts of the world today, will launch a daredevil attempt to realize the American dream. Some observers have hopes on his record as a realist while governor of California, but it is secondary to his true nature as an extreme hawk.

A good clue is in Cabinet and other key post selections. A couple of appointees are realists; most are ultra-right wingers, clustered around the so-called Californian mafia.

Such world strategy defines the Korean policy of the new administration. For the time being, focus will be on the Middle East issue and the Polish situation, while economic issues are demanding much of energy.

The Middle East is not only a region of strategic importance but also a main supplier of energy for the United States. Poland is viewed in Washington as of decisive significance in the strategic policy toward the Soviet Union. These policy considerations will not lead the Reagan Administration to strive for the relaxation of tension in Asia.

The 1980 GOP platform calls for a comprehensive military strategy to serve as a guideline for both the deployment and employment of American power. Reagan's advisers advocate a linkage strategy as an effective weapon. Peace through strength is defined as a national strategy by the Reagan Administration. This approach conditions local strategic conduct.

The GOP platform states that the United States is a Pacific power for whom the maintenance of a secure Pacific region is vital. Defense aides of the President-elect stress the importance of American presence in the Western Pacific and urge the Japanese to build up their military potential. A call for stronger military capability for Japan is not new. This time, however, the demand is strong as never before. Reagan aides call Japan "a full partner," promotion from a junior partner. The aim is to integrate Japan fully into the Russian strategy as a shock brigade.

To this end, the Reagan Administration will most likely persuade with greater vigor Tokyo to increase military outlays and will strive to strengthen the trilateral military integration comprising the Americans, the Japanese and the south Koreans. Noteworthy is Japan's stated willingness to comply with the American request and beef up its muscles.

Korean Policy: Breeder of Anti-Americanism

In this context, the Korean policy will prove most expressive of what the Reagan Administration is like. In one way or another, the Carter Administration adopted a misleading stance toward Korea because of its commitment to the human rights. That of the Reagan Administration is expected to be without any trimmings.

The platform of the Republican Party lists the following Korean policy guideline:

> the continuing stationing of American ground and air forces in south Korea and no more reduction of American presence
>
> a clear-cut expression of the American treaty obligations to the defense of south Korea
>
> the establishment of a closer consultative process between Washington and Seoul.

In short, the President-elect will continue to maintain south Korea as a forward base for American policy in Asia and improve its uses as such. The Americans deny that the aggravation of the Korean situation is the work of their troops there and the Chon Du Hwan troops under their command. The alleged northern threat and the need for a balance of force are pretexts cited for the rationalization of the planned perpetuation of Korea's division.

Therefore, it is only too natural that restoration of democracy produces no enthusiasm from the Reagan Administration. What the Americans want is a powerful and stable client regime set up in Seoul, be it a dictatorial one. It is Chon Du Hwan that is most elated by the victory of Reagan in the last presidential election. The Reagan Administration will become most supportive of the worst dictatorial junta of Chon and other military officers. In turn, the anti-American backlashes will increase, with south Korea placed on the top of the list of candidates for another Iran or Nicaragua. The American fortune in south Korea will after all be worse than before the inauguration of the Reagan Administration.

It is time for Reagan and his supporters to learn history's message: history will not repeat itself.

REPRESSION, NOT REFORM, AS THE THRUST OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY:

The Case of South Korea

by Steven Clark Hunziker

Two American Peace Corps volunteers, Steven Clark Hunziker and Carolyn Turbyfill, who served in south Korea from 1978 to 1980, witnessed the Kwangju Massacre in May last. They detailed what they saw and learned during their two years there. Following are full texts of their reports, with main stress on U.S. complicity with the Chon junta, which are carried in the December issue of Covert Action Information Bulletin published in Washington, D.C.:

(From the December issue of Covert Action Information Bulletin)

President Carter, in his first bid for the presidency, promised to clean up a foreign policy establishment that had become a great deal less than a source of pride to the American people. Twenty years of Vietnam, assassinations of national leaders, a scorched earth policy in Cambodia and the underwriting of sleazy dictatorships across four continents had taken their toll.

Carter, stealing a platform from American revisionist scholars of diplomatic history, argued in his campaign that the "flaw" in foreign policy was the system that assumed an American right to interfere in *any* country's affairs with our vast preponderance of wealth and technology, leaving it worse off than it was before U.S. "aid" arrived. In brief, it was okay to interfere on behalf of "human rights" but wrong to interfere on behalf of local terror, the interference being that elaborate CIA operations in countries such as the Philippines and South Korea would be modified; the Agency's political party, labor union, student organization, media and journalist control and guidance programs would be abandoned altogether. Such a policy of selective morality, while incremental, was certainly a departure from the tried and true methods of Carter's predecessors.

Dictatorships Falling

Carter's first two years of human rights crusading were very selective, but he did cut some marginal military aid to some South American dictators. For a brief period, it looked as though Carter could play his human rights game with no serious loss to the Empire. However, the facade began to crumble in 1979 when an ally of 39 years, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, fell to the very anti-American Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Carter, apparently unwilling to take the advice of Zbigniew Brzezinski, James Schlesinger or Henry Kissinger, refused to back the Shah and launched an "interim government" program with Shahpur Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar lasted only two months before the U.S. government's major ally in the oil rich Middle East was "lost," with considerable embarrassment to Carter and then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

To add insult to injury, another ally of 40 years, the Somoza Family, was at the same time finally toppled by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Again, the interim government solution, rather than direct aid to Anastasio Somoza, was imposed with equally unsuccessful results. Nicaragua was liberated. October 1979 was a busy month. General Pak Chung Hee was also eliminated and an interim government headed by Choi Kyu Ha and Shin Hyon Hwack was established in South Korea after a month of labor and student riots threatened to topple the Pak regime.

Critics from the right were quick to point out the new flaw in American foreign policy was Carter's human rights doctrine. Carter was guilty of blocking the support necessary to maintain old and trusted despots. A "Free World" made up largely of tyrants was preferable in the long run to a foreign policy perceived as "weak." The old way, putting an anti-communist general in power and providing him an economic and military base dependent on the United States, while of some embarrassment, was still the most stable means of maintaining global influence. With a dictator, you can quietly pump money and guns to him: if he loses control, and you are criticized, you can play the "plausible denial" and "pitiful giant" ploy. It is not "interference" as much as it is strategically necessitated maintenance of a "renegade general." The bottom line for these politicians, is that Americans don't live in Third World countries: they live in the U.S. where public opinion polls can be murder. To quote Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, the day after Chun Doo Hwan's *coup* in South Korea;

> "We must decide now, whether we intend to remain the strongest nation in the world, or whether we must accept now that we will let ourselves slip into inferiority, into a position of weakness in a harsh world where principles unsupported by power are victimized, and that we will become a nation with more of a past than a future.

Carter's "Realism"

Thus, it appears that around December 1979 Carter converted to "realism" (before the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan), a realism based on a personal and historic revelation that, in his first three years in office, he had set new records for losing large chunks of the Empire with which he was entrusted and which he was expected to pass on to his successor. Despite a few embarrassments, though, the United States is still the most powerful nation, and its only true interest appears to be freezing history while it is on top of the game, or at least slowing it down in the mineral rich, cheap labor pool of the Third World. Carter made no secret of his personal metamorphosis in his January 23, 1980 State of the Union address when he called for increased defense spending and the unleashing of the CIA.

The South Korean Situation

The Empire was now prepared to strike back, and unfortunately for the Korean people, the barrels were aimed at them. Thirty-eight million human beings, with no higher political authority than the United States to turn to, woke up on the cold morning of December 12th to find that their collective potential and aspirations were expendable and, in fact, had been expended.

The atmosphere of hope in South Korea after Pak's death was incredible to live through. It was as if God had brushed a serene smile on everyone's face, a smile that would not come off: the older the Korean, the broader the smile. Because KCIA chief Kim Jae Kyu had been the assassin, and the KCIA-CIA connection is well known. South Korean friends actually thanked me, because I was an American, for Pak's removal, the assumption being that Carter had done for Pak what Kennedy had done for Diem. The merits of this scenario obviously rest somewhere in Langley, Virginia.

The exuberance of those months blinded our ability to grasp the true nature of events prior to December. On November 6, 1979, an obscure Lieutenant General by the name of Chun Doo Hwan made his first public appearance as the head of the commission that cleared the U.S. of all complicity in Pak's murder. Prior to Chun's public debut, U.S. Ambassador Snyder was replaced by William Gleysteen fresh from the National Security Council (in 1978). General Vessey, Supreme Commander of the Joint U.S. R.O.K. Forces, was prematurely replaced by General John Wickham in early 1979. To say the very least, these new faces would come to play key roles in the destiny of the Korean people. It would be discovered, only at later date, that Wickham and Chun both had their roots in airborne corps and that they had been in Vietnam at the same time, Wickham as Deputy Chief of Staff for Economic Affairs, Military Assistance Command, and Chun as part of a mercenary contingent providing military assistance.

LTG Chun, like Kim Jae Kyu, came from the Korean intelligence establishment. Pak Chung Hee had vested most of the national power in the KCIA, with Chun and his Army Security Command (military intelligence) relegated to a minor position in the Korean defense bureaucracy. Chun's reputation was one for cruelty, established during the Vietnam War; a reputation he enhanced considerably as head of the Army Security Command which runs Korea's most notorious prison torture center, So Bingo.

It was with considerable horror and shock that the Korean people received the news that Chun had borrowed troops and equipment under U.S. command and used them to knock off the entire top layer of the South Korean military, some forty generals, in effect seizing control of the interim government on December 12, 1979. This was no small feat for a Lieutenant General with no troops under his command in a military establishment that requires proper authorization before anything moves. Moreover, half of the Korean military are under U.S. command, and cannot be unilaterally used by the Korean government; the military establishment of which I am speaking is that American-controlled half of the Korean Army, meaning Chun also had to violate several treaties in the process. Where does a young Lt. General like Chun get that kind of confidence if not from the CIA?

Chun's new found power, at the time, seemed essential if the mistakes of Iran and Nicaragua were not to be repeated. Pak's death had fragmented the right wing at a time when 32 years of unmet social demands had left Korean politics no way to go but to the left. A fair election would have resulted in major concessions that would have required a complete overhaul in national personnel and programs, *i.e.* a fundamental change. Such a change would have cut seriously into U.S. corporate and military privileges on the peninsula.

The U.S. Role

In 1979, the Carter Administration, in preparation for the long siege ahead, provided the regime with $85,000 dollars worth of interrogation equipment and $234,000 worth of riot-control agents, apparently as part of his new human rights package. In addition, there are 600 U.S. multinationals and 400 Japanese firms that form over 50% of Korea's industrial base; over 100 U.S. army bases that provide a significant portion of Seoul's annual revenue; and an oil dependency that's funneled through California-Texaco and Gulf. The American presence in Korea is quite overwhelming when one lives there several years.

The first four months of 1980 were dramatic: a 20% devaluation of the won, a 59% price hike in oil, 50% inflation on household staples, nationwide protests over Martial Law and against the attainment of power by Chun Doo Hwan and Shin Hyon Hwack, 687 labor stikes, and President Choi's decision to postpone elections from June 1980 to June 1981. Former Prime Minister and co-founder of the KCIA, Kim Jong Pil, furiously attempted to reorganize what was left of Pak's Democratic Republican Party (DRP) around his leadership. Kim Young Sam desperately attempted to hold on to the New Democratic Party (NDP), the legal opposition, after the release from prison of Kim Dae Jung, the leading opponent of the Pak regime. During this same period, the interim government was dragging its feet on producing a new constitution to replace the nationally hated Yushin System.

It was widely believed that Kim Dae Jung was released to quell public unrest and split the NDP. The strategy worked, perhaps too well. Kim Dae Jung is the most popular leader in South Korean history since Kim Ku, (a hero of the resistance against Japan). His release sparked new hope in every province in the nation. The three Kims all announced their intentions for

(Continued on page 6)

THE CASE OF SOUTH KOREA

(Continued from page 5)

a presidential bid. None were acceptable to the Carter Administration, which had hoped to slip in a new face like Shin Hyon Hwack as the next Korean dictator. Kim Jong Pil, it was felt in Washington, was "too tainted" to last long. Kim Young Sam was considered "less than capable," and Kim Dae Jung was believed to be "too radical."

None of these men were anti-American, nor would any of them have kicked U.S. troops out of Korea precipitously. Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung had displayed their non-appreciation for the troop occupation of their country, but neither advocated leaving the U.S. nuclear umbrella or immediate troop withdrawal. Kim Dae Jung was an advocate of social democracy. He was for reunification, for democratic trade unions, against foreign multinational free zones, and for social reforms in housing, education and health. By today's standards, this is hardly radical and certainly not communist. Nonetheless, a South Korea controlled by Kim Dae Jung would not be a South Korea controlled by the U.S. Just as Pak's assassination kept the lid on a boiling cauldron in November and December, the repeal of Emergency Decree Number Nine and Kim Dae Jung's release in February kept the lid on in March and most of April. General Chun, fearing that Kim Dae Jung would capture the initiative, declared himself KCIA director, kicking off a storm of protests. But the event that really blew the lid off the pot was the April 21st Sabuk riot. At the Sabuk coal mine in Kangwondo province, 3,000 coal miners violently seized the factory and stormed the entire city of Sabuk, holding its 32,000 citizens willing hostages. Uniquely, the miners seized the city's armories and held the Seoul riot police at bay. To the surprise of everyone in Korea, the government gave in to their demands. The victory of the coal miners sparked new labor strikes in Seoul, Inchon, Kwangju, Pusan, Taegu, and Masan, that is, every major industrial city in the country. The labor strikes were quickly compounded by nationwide student demonstrations demanding free elections, an end to Martial Law, Chun and Shin's resignations, academic freedom and labor rights.

The national convulsions lasted for over two weeks when, in a surprise move on May 17th, DRP head Kim Jong Pil announced that Martial Law would be lifted in the National Assembly on the 20th, and Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam issued a joint statement calling for the resignation of Chun Doo Hwan and Prime Minister Shin Hyon Hwack and also for elections by the end of the year. Satisfied with these developments, the students called off all demonstrations.

The Uprisings

The situation, from Washington's point of view, was clearly out of control. Lieutenant General Chun seized the quiet of May 18 and imposed Emergency Decree Number Ten. The nation's major universities were stormed and all student leaders were arrested. At 4 a.m. on the 19th, he re-arrested Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil and most of the DRP and NDP leaders. In the afternoon of the 19th, he arrested Kim Young Sam and, using the 300,000 troops under Korean command, occupied Seoul, Inchon, Swon, Taejon, Taegu, Masan, Pusan, Chunju and Kwangju. In short, he blanketed the country with troops and police and put thousands of Koreans in prison.

That week in Seoul, Martial Law troops were everywhere. Squads of three troops patrolled up and down each street; troops sat at every major intersection in the city. Several busloads of troops were stationed at the train and bus terminals, with empty buses behind them waiting to be filled with anyone who attempted a demonstration. Every government office had two tanks parked in front of it. All broadcasting stations, newspaper offices and banks were guarded. People walking down the street were randomly stopped and searched. Whole blocks were sealed off and searched.

On the 18th of May, some very brave citizens and students in Kwangju organized against this repressive crackdown with a demonstration that resulted in a number of deaths. On the 19th, the demonstrators returned to the streets. General Chun, a bit shorthanded to deal with the Kwangju revolution, appealed to Defense Secretary Harold Brown for military assistance. Brown granted his request for U.S. equipment and use of Korean troops under U.S. command. The 70,000 troops requested had to be taken off the DMZ, but their redeployment was covered by U.S. troops and an aircraft carrier that had been dispatched to Korea. As the Kwangju rebellion spread throughout the North and South Cholla provinces, the troops were deployed in a fashion that encircled the cities of Kwangju, Mogpo, Naju, Yosu, Hwasoon and Chunju.

On the night of the 19th, Chun sent 3,000 paratroopers into Kwangju, apparently with orders to kill. In less than 15 hours, the paratroopers had murdered or bayonetted to death 600 citizens, aged 3 to 80, men, women, children, everybody. By noon, on the 20th, the paratroopers thought they had won. But, at that point, the city taxi drivers turned on the troops as 300,000 citizens poured into the streets. The fighting lasted for 24 hours before the citizens seized the city's armories (4,000 weapons) and forced the troops out. The Kwangju battle would last for 9 days in all, leaving as many as 2,000 citizens dead and 15,000 seriously injured. Mogpo, Kim Dae Jung's hometown, held out for one month. The death toll there, and in Chunju, Hwasoon, Naju and Yosu, is unknown.

U.S. Support

The Cholla Do Massacre was a unique chapter in American diplomatic annals as well as Korean history. General Chun made no bones about it on May 30, 1980, when he publicly stated that Ambassador Gleysteen had encouraged his brutality for the sake of social stability. Oddly, the Administration did not even issue a public denial of Chun's statement. As State Department spokesman David Passage said, "We believe this [rebellion] was a major breakdown of law and order. Our situation, for better or for worse, is that Korea is a treaty ally, and the U.S. has a very strong security interest in that part of the world."

Less than two weeks after the Kwangju massacre, the Carter Administration, in Venice, pushed six billion dollars of financial assistance for the next two years through international funding groups. This behavior thus lent a great deal of credibility to Chun's May 30th statement.

From Washington, it's all so abstract, but not to me. I watched for over two years as even the most remedial national aspirations of Koreans were smashed by Korean and American authorities in Seoul. The misery is real. The censorship is real. The slave labor is real. The abject poverty is real. The torture camps are real. The atmosphere of terror is real, and the overwhelming sense of hopelessness is real. When I went to Korea in 1978, it was a police state serving the American strategic interests primarily as a buffer for and a mode of maintaining stability in Japan. When I left Korea, on June 10, 1980, it was a concentration camp serving the same interests.

To quote Kim Chi Ha, a famous Korean poet serving life imprisonment for his opposition to the regime: "The government constantly asserts that the threat from North Korea is so serious that civil

THE KCIA

by Carolyn Turbyfill

Function

Among the KCIA's more famous exploits are the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung from Japan in 1973 and the bribing of U.S. Congressmen in "Koreagate." But, what the KCIA does best is terrorize the Korean people. Its job is intimidation of the people to make them paranoid and distrustful of everyone, and therefore unable to communicate their common desires and complaints, unable to organize and act. Those who defy this intimidation are arrested and tortured. Friends and family of dissidents are often harassed or arrested and tortured too. The ostensible reason for arresting family members and friends of dissidents is to get information, but the true purpose is to punish the guilty party and to deter other brave persons who are willing even to die for their principles, but who will not risk the possibility that loved ones will be made to suffer for their actions. The KCIA, which in 1978 was referred to as a "'friendly' foreign intelligence service" by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, is as insidious, brutal and despised as the SAVAK was in Iran, the DINA in Chile, or the Gestapo in Nazi Germany.

Tactics

These tactics are not restricted to the KCIA, and are also employed, to one degree or another, by the Korean National Police, the Korean Military Police, and the Defense Security Command (military intelligence).

1. Torture

Thorough descriptions of individual cases are documented in the references at the end of this article. All of the standard techniques are employed: beating; electric shock; sharp objects forced under fingernails; sleep deprivation; stick leg torture–making a person squat with a thick stick behind the knees and tramping on the thighs; water torture–one variation is hanging a person upside down, plugging the nose and then pouring alternately very hot or very cold water in the mouth and ears; "Genghis Khan cooking"–hanging a person upside down just above a burning fire or stripping a person naked, putting them in urine and bloodsoaked fatigues, followed by non-stop interrogation and torture with lighted cigarettes; sexual assault; and stomping with boots. Drugs and psychological torture are also used. After arrest and interrogation, detainees are forced to sign a statement saying that torture has not been used and agreeing not to discuss what happened while they were under arrest. Usually, they must also sign a statement pledging not to engage in any political activities, legal or not, and are subject to immediate arrest without a warrant should they violate any of these "agreements." People are frequently arrested and imprisoned for 15 days. This allows 3 to 5 days for interrogation and torture followed by 10 days for the evidence of torture to heal.

Amnesty International reported that one prisoner, Soh Sung, completely healthy when arrested, was badly burned on the face and ears during KCIA torture. His fingers were burned to a lump, and before he was brought to "trial," he had to put a "print" on official documents with his toes.

2. Terror

The KCIA is not surreptitious when it engages in surveillance, the purpose being to intimidate, not to gain information. The KCIA is everywhere and strives to make people think that it is even where it isn't. A recent example occurred during and after the Kwangju uprising which lasted from May 17-27. In Seoul, taxi drivers were taking anyone who mentioned Kwangju, or who otherwise made politically unacceptable remarks in a taxi, straight to the nearest police station. Taxi drivers weren't doing this out of loyalty. They were told that they would be tested by KCIA agents who would say illegal things in taxis. If the driver didn't turn the KCIA agent in, the driver would be arrested. So, taxi drivers turned people in out of self-defense. Even before General Chun's takeover, during the Pak regime, university professors had the same problem with university students, some of whom are KCIA informants.

All foreigners who are residents of South Korea have a KCIA agent or a policeman assigned to watch them. Monthly visits are the norm, as are visits to Korean friends of the foreigner. This can be escalated to constant surveillance if the subject's activities do not meet with the approval of the government. Should more drastic action be deemed necessary, Korean friends of the foreigner are threatened. Deportation is rarely employed as South Korea is very sensitive about its international image.

3. Disruption

Creating tensions among dissidents is another tactic. During the Kwangju uprising the student leaders were in the provincial office working with two other citizens groups and running the city. Contrary to U.S. State Department comments characterizing Kwangju as "a breakdown in law and order," the city was well run and orderly while the citizens were in control of it.) In the provincial office, a KCIA agent stabbed one of the student leaders, but the students caught him. He was trying to make it appear as if there was conflict among the student leaders. This time, the tactic failed.

4. Discrediting

The KCIA is always trying to make dissidents, whether they be students, intellectuals, Christians, workers or farmers, look like communists or rowdy hoodlums. Over the last two years, practically every time students and other citizens have turned out in large numbers to have a peaceful demonstration, someone has thrown a few molotov cocktails. It has gotten to the point that the cocktails are expected, and everyone assumes that it is the KCIA up to its old tricks. Usually, KCIA tactics are transparent enough. The Korean people can see through them as easily as they can see through the outrageous sedition charges leveled against Kim Dae Jung.

The Staff

The KCIA is 30,000 strong. This does not count informants; the Defense Security Command; the Korean National Police; the Korean Military Police; or U.S., Japanese and West German intelligence operatives, (masquerading as embassy personnel, Department of the Army civilians, businessmen, missionaries, tourists, academics, journalists, and retired military personnel). All this for a country of 37 million people.

The lowest ranking KCIA officers make 80,000 won a month, $133.00. This is supplemented by bribes, free meals, free taxi rides, etc. Income rises with rank. The highest ranking officials are millionaires; like Kim Jong Pil who founded the KCIA with U.S. assistance in 1961, and Lee Hu Rak who engineered the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping and masterminded Koreagate while he was Director of the KCIA. (Lee Hu Rak was in the U.S. this spring until the end of March for "dental treatment." As good dental care is available in Korea, it is widely believed that he was hiding out until the political climate at home became more favorable).

In the spring of 1980, after Pak's death, while it was uncertain who would end up in charge, lower level KCIA officials and other government officials were fence-sitting. They carried out their official duties but were fearful of offending anyone who could conceivably end up on the winning side of the struggle for control of the country. Morale was low as purges for corruption were begun, first by the ruling Democratic and Republican Party head Kim Jong Pil, and then by Chun Doo Hwan who gave Kim Jong Pil a taste of his own medicine by arresting him for corruption. In truth, loyalty and not corruption was the motive behind the purges. Chun Doo Hwan replaced 300 top KCIA officers with his own proteges; the number of lower ranking officers replaced has not been publicly disclosed. Probably few needed replacing. All that is required from lower ranking officers is obedience to authority. For most them any authority would do.

(Copyright by Covert Action Publications, Inc.)

rights are an impermissible luxury. But a corrupt, immoral dictatorship is the greatest spur to communism. What greater argument do the communists have than the Pak [or Chun] regime? Dictatorial rule will never make South Korea secure. A country is strong and viable only when its' people are defending their freedom. If we have no basic rights or representative government, what is there for us to defend? Our hopeless privation and disease, our endless depair and humiliation? Are we to risk our lives for these?"

After watching President Carter's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in August, the obvious answer to Kim's question is yes, the Korean people are to risk their lives for hopeless privation, disease, humiliation and despair. This year, Carter has in effect broadened his definition of human rights to include the sanctity of bayonetting children as long as it is done to maintain "consistency, moderation and stability" in America's world position. We wouldn't want to send out signals of weakness. After all, we don't have to live in South Korea. (Copyright by C A P)

Korean Cultural History (34)

Architecture of 15th-16th Centuries, World's First Iron-Clad Warship

(Continued from the No. 1020 issue of The People's Korea)

The characteristic features of architecture in this period is magnificence and a buoyant spirit. Architects in those days built various buildings including dwelling houses, palaces, pavilions, fortresses, Buddhist temples, while maintaining traditional Korean style, methods and architectural beauty.

The Kyongbok, Changdok and Changgyong palaces are widely known as of the Li dynasty. Most of these buildings were burned during Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in 1592. Extant are the Tonhwa gate of the Changdok Palace, the Myongjong Hall of the Changgyong Palace and the Honghwa gate. The present buildings of the Kyongbok Palace were reconstructed in the latter half of the 19th century.

The Kyongbok Palace was built against the background of Mt. Paekak (Mt. Pukak) and was surrounded by castle. There are gates in the north and south, east and west of the castle. Pavilions were built in the four corners of the castle.

Its main building was placed on a line connecting the centers of north and south. Big and small annexes were arranged on its right and left sides.

The center of the palace consist of a section from the Kwanghwa gate, the front gate, to the Kunyong Hall and the Kyotae hall where the king and his family lived.

Natural beauty was taken into consideration in the architectural arrangement of the buildings. The buildings were different in structure from each other in accordance to their uses.

Traditional formality was kept in the plane arrangement. Various variations were introduced into the five gardens and many buildings.

In this period many gates were constructed. The representative gates include the Potong gate in Pyongyang, the Namdae gate in Uiju, the Namdae gate in Seoul and others, which are all very grandiose in scale and structure, each incorporating the characteristic features of times.

The Potong gate of Pyongyang was the oldest among these gates and is marked by excellent beauty. It is believed to have been originally built in the latter half of the 10th century. In 1473, the gate was reconstructed in the present place. Its base was of being granite. Its roofs were double curved roofs. The height of the base is 7.6 meters and its passage way is 4.4 meters in width and 4.5 meters in height. The front of the gate is 14.8 meters and its side 9.5 meters in length. The composition of the gate is well balanced. Unique methods were employed in the construction of its inner details.

The Namdae gate of Seoul was also built on a granite base and has a double roof.

In this period, some Buddhist buildings were constructed in spite of restrictions on Buddhism in the Li dynasty.

Representative Buddhist temples in those days are the Hosa gate of the Sokwang Temple (1392), the Sonsa Hall of the Shinruk Temple (1469), the storehouse of the Hasin Temple (1488), the Hansan Hall of the Paeip Temple, the Kukrak Hall of the Chongpyong Temple and the Sasong Hall of the Changan Temple.

There are many excellent pagodas built in this period such as the multiple marble pagoda of the Wongak Temple (1467), the seven-story stone pagoda of the Lakan Temple (1468), and the seven-story

A famous "turtle boat,"the world's first iron-clad man-of-war

stone pagoda of the Shinruk Temple (1427).

Among the pagodas, the multiple pagoda of the Wongak Temple was most elaborately built. This is made of marble, and is 12 meters high, but it looks as if it were a wooden building.

At the same time, schools for teaching Confucianism were built. Songgyungan of Seoul and Kaeson were representative Confucian schools. As schools for educating children of medium- and small-landowners there were Oksan School (Kyongju, North Kyongsang Prov.), Sokyon School (Kumsong, South Hwanghae Prov.) and Tosan School of Andong, North Kyongsang Prov. The characteristic features of these buildings are simplicity, and have an air of subdued seriousness.

In addition, the Tonggun arbour of Uiju, North Pyongan Prov. and the great hall of the Shingye Temple, Kosong, Kangwon Prov. have high artistic value.

The invention of the world's first iron-clad "Turtle" boat is one of the proud achievements of the Korean technique developed in medieval Korea.

According to the "Taejong Sillok", an iron-clad turtle boat of this type was already manufactured in the early period of the 15th century and its capacity was tested. In the 16th century, the turtle boat was further developed by Admiral Li Sun Sin and employed in actual sea battles, in which its effectiveness was fully displayed.

It is a big boat measuring some 34.2 meters in length. The bow is 3.6 meters wide, the gunwale 4.4 meters wide, and the stern 3.2 meters wide. The bow is shaped like a dragon head. In battle a mixture of sulphur and nitrate powder was burnt inside this head. The dragon would open its mouth and emit thick clouds of smoke all over the sea so that one could hardly see ahead. The screen of poisonous smoke prevented the enemy from approaching the boat.

The turtle boat has many gun holes – 72 in all, 22 on each side of the boat, 24 on the deck and 4 on the bow.

There is a cross-shaped passage on the iron-clad deck and the rest of the surface bristles with spikes and swords. The enemy charging at the boat would be caught on spikes and swords and fall into the waters. The iron-clad boat was bullet-proof.

The boat was structually the most advanced in the world then.

The boat was rowed with 20 oars, 10 on each side. It had 26 cabins – 2 for the keeping of hardware, 3 for guns, bows, arrows, swords and other weapons, 19 for fighting men, 1 for officers and 1 for the captain.

The turtle boat was sturdy in structure. No boat could match it in those days.

One of the features of the turtle boat was that though its building process was simple, it was incomparably stronger than any boats in other countries. It was also rational in size and shape. It was twice and more the size of the then Japanese boats.

Another feature of the turtle boat was that its structure never allowed the enemy a close fight.

When close fighting was a set rule in medieval naval warfare in the East, Admiral Li Sun Sin was the first to apply new gunfire tactics in sea warfare and thus opened a new era in the development of the art of naval warfare in the Middle Ages.

The Korean fleet under the command of Admiral Li Sun Sin won all sea battles in the Imjin Patriotic War–Battles on the seas off Okpo, Tangpo and Hansan Island in 1592, and the battle on the sea off Noryangjin in 1598 which led to the victory of the Koreans over the boats of Japan. One of the important factors for this shining success was that Admiral Li Sun Sin employed new gunfire tactics to replace the medieval tactics of close sea battles, and invented and employed the iron-clad turtle boats that met the demand of gunfire tactics.

The quality of Korean firearms was high in the 15th century. In 1409, firearms drills using tanks were conducted. In 1419, some weapons including slings which had been made of copper, came to be made of iron-copper.

According to the records "Sejong Sillok" in 1435, about 600 experts were under the control of the office in charge of producing weapons in those days, who manufactured various weapons including guns. Among those weapons found were guns with excellent capacity or a shooting range of 2,360 meters.

The use of weapons was widely taught along with the method of their manufacture.

"Kuncho-oryewi" published in 1474 records in detail the names of 16 kinds of firearms and their uses.

Agriculture developed in the 15th century. Studies were made to systematize the results of advanced farming technology theoretically. "Nongsajikso!" was published in 1429 and "Nongkachipyong" in 1459, in which are found detailed records of farm machines and farming methods.

A remarkable agricultural method was that of planting in rotation rice and crops of the pulse family. By this method two crops were produced a year and yet the richness of soil was maintained. On the other hand, the method of producing three crops in two years was also introduced, which hightened the rate of utilization of arable land.

Cotton which began to be grown in and after the 14th century in the southern regions, came to cultivated in the wide areas of Korea, except Hamgyong Province, in the latter half of the Li dynasty.

Selection and storage of excellent species and studies of plant breeding were made.

It was in this period that the rice-transplanting method such as conducted at present, was introduced. Rice-transplanting was widely applied in the 13th century and was further developed in the 15th century.

In the 17-18th centuries, rice-transplanting was adopted on about 80-90 percent of south Korea's rice paddies and became a general farming method.

The world's first metal types invented in the Koryo period were widely used in the early period of the Li dynasty.

Distribution of Confucianism, cultural development and numerous publications inspired the progress and use of metal printing types.

In the 15th century, tens of thousands of metal types could be produced at a time. In 1403, a factory to produce metal types was set up and tens of thousands of metal types were made of copper.

In 1420, more beautiful and smaller metal types than the predecessors were made. Under the guidance of Li Chon, some 200,000 metal types were made for in 2 months by Kim Don, Li Sun Ji and others. The style of letters was by Kim Don.

Dead types were also used in the early days. After the invention of the *Hunminjongum* – the Korean alphabet – in 1444, publications by Korean letters developed, which in turn promoted the metal type culture of Korea.

The method of casting metal types was as follows:

A wooden-frame was made and a layer of clay mixed with sand was placed inside, on which the wooden types were pressed and molten copper was poured on it.

According to the records of casting in 1434, about 3,400–3,500 types were made in a day in this way.

Metals for types were chosen carefully. The metal composition of types made in 1455 was: 79.45 % copper, 13.2 % tin, 2.3 % zinc and 1.88 % iron, 1.66 % lead and 0.48 % manganese. These are rational mixing ratios to make clear types and keep their strength.

The publishing house managed by the Li dynasty in the 15th century was big in scale and a division of labor was introduced in the processes of printing and publication. Experts were employed in necessary posts.

In the 15th century over 200 persons were employed by the publishing house. (To be continued)

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

Dec. 2

* Ali Nasser Mohamed, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Yemen, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, met DPRK Ambassador to his country Ryang Jae Dok. Saying that the new proposal for national reunification and the ten-point policy put forward by President Kim Il Sung at the Sixth Congress of the WPK were a very important and just proposal and policy, Mohamed expressed full support to the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of the country.
* Letn Mebiame, Prime Minister of the Republic of Gabon, met DPRK Ambassador to his country Chon Yong Un. Referring to the question of friendly relations between Gobon and Korea, the prime minister expressed full support to the new proposal for national unification put forward by President Kim Il Sung at the Sixth Congress of the WPK and stated that Korea must be reunified on its basis.
* An agreement on mutual commodity delivery and payments for 1981–85 and a trade protocol for 1981 between the governments of the DPRK and the Polish People's Republic were signed in Warsaw.

Dec. 4

* An educational delegation of the DPRK headed by Han Gi Hwan left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.
* An educational delegation of the DPRK headed by Sin Gi Chon left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to the Soviet Union and Hungary.
* A Soviet railway delegation headed by G.V. Fomin arrived in Pyongyang by plane to attend a meeting of the fourth subcommittee of the committee of organiation for the collaboration of railways to be held in Pyongyang.

Dec. 5

* Leading functionaries of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of San Marino met the delegation of the WPK headed by Kim Yong Sun, Member, and Vice-Director of a department of the Central Committee of the WPK, which had attended the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of San Marino.

Dec. 6

* Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel met Kang Sin Myong, Ambassador of the DPRK to Mozambique. Declaring that the support of Mozambique to the struggle of Korean people for national reunification is firm and invariable, the Mozambican president stressed that the Liberation Front Party of Mozambique and the Mozambican government unconditionally and fully support the policy of national reunification announced by President Kim Il Sung and the struggle of the Korean people to implement it.

Dec. 7

* David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic, met the government delegation of the DPRK headed by Kim Hyong U on a visit to Central Africa. The Central African president expressed satisfaction with the favourable development of the friendly relations between Central Africa and Korea and manifested the conviction that these relations would grow stronger and develop in the future.

Dec. 8

* A delegation of the Libya Arab-Korea Friendship Association headed by its Vice-Chairman Salim Muhammad Khalifa Jumma arrived in Pyongyang by air.
* A delegation of the Ministry of Culture of the German Democratic Republic headed by Heinz Gundlach arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
* Shafik Wazzan, Premier of Lebanon, met Kang Gyong Sok, trade representative of the DPRK to Lebanon. Pointing out that the new proposal for national reunification and the ten-point policy of a unified state advanced by President Kim Il Sung are reasonable and realistic proposal and policy for reunifying the country, the Lebanese president expressed full support to them and stressed that the reunification of Korea should be decided by the Korean people themselves.

Dec. 9

* A Chinese broadcasting technical delegation headed by Lu Keqin, Deputy Director of the Central Broadcasting Administration of China, arrived in Pyongyang by train.
* Wolfgang Wolte, newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria to the DPRK, arrived in Pyongyang by air.
* An agreement on non-trade

(Continued on page 8)

List of 67 Signers' Universities & Colleges

Following a list of 67 signers' universities and colleges:

Tokyo Univ.;
Tokyo Women's Univ.;
Japan Women's Univ.;
Ryukoku Univ.;
Osaka Univ.;
Momoyama Gakuin Univ.;
Kyoto Prefectural Univ.;
Doshisha Univ.;
Gunma Univ.;
Waseda Univ.;
Kanto Gakuin Univ.;
Fukushima Univ.;
Hokkaido Univ.;
Hokkaido University of Education;
Iwate Univ.;
Fuji Univ.;
Akita Univ.;
Utsunomiya Univ.;
Takasaki College of Economics;
Saitama Univ.;
Chiba Commercial College;
Chuo Gakuin Univ.;
Azabu Univ.;
Obirin Univ.;
Shibaura Institute of Technology;
Sophia Univ.;
Seijo Univ.;
Seisen Women's College;
Tokyo Gakugei Univ.;
Tokyo College of Economics;
Tokyo Institute of Technology;
Tokyo Univ. of Mercantile;
Tokyo Univ. of Art & Design;
Tokyo Metropolitan Univ.;
Toyo Univ.;
Nippon Veterinary & Zootechnical College;
Nihon College of Physical Education;
Japan Lutheran Theological College;
Hoshi Pharmaceutical College;
Musashino Women's College;
Meiji Gakuin Univ.;
Rikkyo Univ.;
Wako Univ.;
Sagami Women's College;
Tsuru College of Liberal Arts;
Niigata College of Pharmacy;
Shizuoka Women's Univ.;
Oya Univ.;
Kyoto Seika Univ.;
Ritsumeikan Univ.;
Osaka College of Music;
Osaka Prefectural Univ.;
Osaka Hoka College;
Shitennoji Women's Univ.;
Hannan Univ.;
Eichi College;
Konan Univ.;
Kobe Commercial College;
Kobe Women's College;
Himeji Institute of Technology;
Hiroshima College of Economics;
Hiroshima Jogakuin College;
Hiroshima Women's Univ.;
Kagawa Univ.;
Matsuyama Commercial College;
Shikoku Gakuin Univ.;
Kyushu Dental College;
Industrial Medical College;
Seinan Gakuin Univ.;
Beppu Univ.;
Kagoshima Women's Univ.

(Continued from page 7)

payments and clearance between the governments of the DPRK and the People's Republic of China was signed in Pyongyang.

Dec. 10

* Ashok Khosla, Director of the International Referral System for Resources of Environmental Information of the United Nations Environment Programme, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
* Filip Marusic, resident representative of the Field Office of the United Nations Development Programme to the DPRK, arrived in Pyongyang by train.
* A delegation of the Korean Central News Agency headed by its General Director Kim Song Gol left Pyongyang for India by plane.
* Stanko Todorov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic met Choe Jung Gun, head of the government trade delegation of the DPRK.
* A trade agreement between the governments of the DPRK and the People's Republic of Angola was signed in Luwanda.

Dec. 10

* Malagasy president Didier Ratsiraka met So Jun Yong, DPRK Ambassador to Madagascar. Highly praising the shining successes made by the WPK and the Korean people, the Malagasy president expressed satisfaction over the favourable development of the friendly and cooperative relations between Madagascar and Korea in all fields, between Madagascar and Korea. **(KCNA)**

Save-Kim Movement

Members of the All-Japan Harbor Union on Dec. 18 called on south Korean ships in Yokohama Port to join the movement to save Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

(Continued from page 1)

Seventy-two university presidents throughout Japan on Dec. 17 made public a joint statement opposing the death sentence on Mr. Kim Dae Jung and demanding their government make greater efforts for his release.

The statement was signed by 72 incumbent and former presidents of 67 universities and colleges in both national and private. **(See Above)**

The university presidents demanded that Li Mun Yong, professor of Koryo University, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison, must be released and many university professors expelled on charges of participation in the movement for democracy be immediately reinstated.

The December 6 issue of the Norwegian paper "Arbeiderbladet" carried an article titled "Jugglery in Seoul at Its Height" and called for economic sanctions against Seoul.

The paper said:

"Many governments of the world and international organizations are making active efforts to save Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

"It is very satirical for a personage who demanded democracy to be thrown into prison and sentenced to death by a government which claims democracy.

"A blow should be dealt to south Korea dependent on the Western markets by applying economic sanctions."

Is Brown Emissary of Freedom for Mr. Kim?

Diplomatic observers in Tokyo are skeptical of the reported Dec. 13 request of Defense Secretary Brown for clemency for Mr. Kim Dae Jung. They express concern about the stronger military ties between Seoul and Washington.

What dasquiet them are the following in words of a certain observer:

– the visit of the Defense Secretary instead of the Secretary of State

– the reaffirmed commitment to the defense of south Korea against the alleged threat from the north

– the visit to Seoul despite worldwide choruses of protests against the military trial of the leading south Korean democrats.

These factors combine to reinforce the fear that the dissident leader will be hanged, the concerned diplomats here said. They believe that the reported clemency plea is a publicity stunt to dodge criticism.

No Visit of State Secretary

A number of diplomatic observers question why Secretary of State Muskie failed to turn up in Seoul. What seems quite unusual to them is the dispatch of Defense Secretary to south Korea ostensibly to express concern over the fate of Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

They stress that such job must be performed by the Secretary of State, never the duty of a military leader. They argue that the visit of Muskie to the south Korean capital and his request for a meeting with local dissident leaders will be far more effective.

Such action by the top American diplomat, long-time observers of the Asian scene claim, would be highly embarrassing to the Chon junta and encourage return to democratic order. This notwithstanding, they note with alarm that he has not been sent to Seoul. It was the defense chief that appeared in Seoul and reached unanimity of views with strongman Chon.

A sequence of events has proved illustrative of American role in south Korea since the death of Pak Jung Hi in October last year, in the views of diplomatic observers familiar with south Korea. They recall a visible American military part: the first report on the death of the strongman Pak came from the Pentagon; Gen. Wickham, commander of the U.S. forces in south Korea, permitted the release of south Korean troops under his command for the December 12 army purge and the May 17-27 military crackdown on democratic forces, both engineered by Chon Du Hwan; Gen. Wickham refused to help a counter-coup attempt against Chon.

Diplomatic observers vinsist that the conduct of Defense chief Brown should be viewed in that context.

Alleged Northern Threat Played Up

European diplomats in Tokyo cite as evidence of lukewarm American interest in the freedom of Mr. Kim the allegations renewed by Brown and Chon about the so-called threat from the north. They call the allegations a familiar line used to justify the denial of democracy.

Saying that these allegations are self-serving, the Europeans called particular attention to the much-publicized commitment of the United States to the security of south Korea, namely, the security of its client junta of Chon. They referred to the remark by Brown that the security of south Korea is important for East Asia and the United States. Brown stated that Washington's primary concern is with the maintenance of security in that part of Asia.

By so saying, the American military leader made it plain that human rights and daaocracy do not figure much in American policy considerations with regard to that part of Korea. In short, diplomatic observers conclude that the Americans consider south Korean democracy and human rights to be expendable.

Diplomatic observers list the planned sale of F-16 fighters to Seoul and continuing American military and economic assistance. The importance of south Korea as a strategic outpost on the Asian Continent is growing as the rightist shift has become strong in the United States.

Defiance of Worldwide Protests

An American expert here shares the view of European diplomats that a most outstanding thing about the Seoul trip of Brown is its timing, that is, a total defiance to the worldwide choruses of outcries over the unwarranted military trial of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other democrats. They think that the American officials, if really committed to the safety of Mr. Kim, should refuse to go to Seoul for a long-delayed bilateral security consultative conference, in deference to the mounting global protests in particular from among EC countries.

One theory is that the Americans saw urgency to give needed boost and comfort to the Chon junta now faced with criticisms at home and abroad, with some leading allies of the U.S. threatening to cut back economic assistance to Seoul. Given worldwide outcries, the theory goes, south Korean client junta will find itself completely isolated in the international community, let alone domestic support, and will collapse.

What adds to the political and social crisis is the worst economic situation in two decades, diplomatic observers believe. Relief from the economic woes is evidently impossible without a large dosage of assistance from both Tokyo and Washington and EC countries. Vital is aid from Washington and Tokyo.

The appearance of Brown is a vivid reminder to the south Korean population and the world public that the United States stands by the side of the military junta.

Japan PEN Appeal

The Japan PEN Club, decided Dec. 19 to ask the Chon junta to set free poets and writers still imprisoned for their beliefs.

The request would also be sent to the south Korea PEN Club and the London-based PEN, the International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Essayists and Novelists, a Japan PEN Club spokesman said.

THE PEOPLE'S KOREA Published every Saturday by the Chosen Sinbo Company For subscription or further details, please write to the Editorial Department, 5, Tsukudo-Hachiman-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162 Japan Tel. 03-269-0131-8 Anybody is free to reproduce or quote any stories or articles in The People's Korea.